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PAGE 01 DAMASC 02290 181127Z

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SUBJ: FULBRIGHT'S MEETINGS WITH FONMIN KHADDAM AND PRESIDENT
ASAD

1. SUMMARY:. KHADDAM DESCRIBED SYRIAN POSITION AS WANTING PEACE
IN ACCORDANCE WITH UN RESOLUTIONS. ISRAEL DID NOT WANT PEACE
AND U.S. WAS SUPPORTING IT IN THIS POSITION. FULBRIGHT ADVISED
KHADDAM TO CONCENTRATE ON CONVINCING PRESIDENT FORD THAT ARABS
WOULD ACCEPT ISRAEL WITHIN 1967 BOUNDARIES. PRESIDENT ASAD,
IN HIS MEETING WITH FULBRIGHT, EMPHASIZED HIS DESIRE BETTER
LOT OF SYRIAN PEOPLE THROUGH DEVELOPMENT AND REAFFIRMED SYRIAN
READINESS WELCOME AMERICA BUSINESSMENA. END SUMMARY.

2. ACCOMPANIED EX-SENATOR FULBRIGHT ON ONE AND ONE-HALF
HOUR CALL ON FONMIN KHADDAM JUNE 15. AFTER EXPRESSING
PLEASURE AT FULBRIGHT'S VISIT, KHADDAM DELIVERED EXPOSITION
OF CURRENT SYRIAN POSITION ALONG FOLLOWING LINES. ARABS, AND
PARTICULARLY SYRIANS, DESIRE PEACE AND OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP
THEIR COUNTRIES FREE FROM THREAT OF WAR. THIS IS EVIDENT
IN THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF UN RESOLUTIONS. ISRAEL, ON OTHER
HAND, IS NOT MANIFESTING DESIRE FOR PEACE AND THIS IS
SHOWN BY ITS CONTINUED ESTABLISHMENT AND EXPANSION OF
SETTLEMENTS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND ITS REFUSAL TO
DEAL WITH PALESTINIANS.

3. ON QUESTION OF SETTLEMENTS, KHADDAM CONTINUED, GEOGRAPHICAL
SECURITY NO LONGER OFFERS A TENABLE JUSTIFICATION FOR THEIR

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 DAMASC 02290 181127Z

ESTABLISHMENT. HULA VALLEY SETTLEMENTS ARE WITHIN RANGE

OF SYRIAN ARTILLERY IN PRESENT POSITIONS. MOREOVER, SYRIANS HAD CAPABILITY TO STRIKE ANY PART OF ISRAEL. IF SETTLEMENTS WERE FOR SECURITY REASONS, ONLY LOGICAL RESULT WOULD BE EVENTUAL ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF ALL OF SYRIA.

4. KHADDAM AGREED THAT SOME CHANGE HAD OCCURRED IN U.S. ATTITUDE BUT SAID THAT ONLY U.S. SUPPORT WAS ALLOWING ISRAEL TO MAINTAIN ITS OCCUPATION AND NOT MAKE PEACE. SPECIFICALLY, U.S. WAS PERMITTING ISRAEL TO DO THIS BY (1) IGNORING ITS RESPONSIBILITIES AS A GREAT POWER, AN ADHERENT TO UN CHARTER AND A PERMANENT MEMBER OF UNSC; AND (2) FURNISHING MASSIVE MILITARY AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL. ATTITUDE OF CONGRESS, KHADDAM SAID, AS MANIFESTED BY LETTER OF 76 SENATORS, SHOWS TRUE U.S. ATTITUDE.

5. KHADDAM SAID HE WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT CURRENT SITUATION. HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT HE WOULD FIND IN WASHINGTON OR WHETHER THERE WOULD BE ANY CHANGE EVIDENT IN U.S. POSITION.

6. IF THIS OPPORTUNITY FOR PROGRESS FAILED, HOWEVER, KHADDAM PREDICTED IT WOULD RESULT IN GREATER LOSS FOR U.S. INTERESTS THAN RECENT SOUTHEAST ASIAN EVENTS. NEITHER ITS OLD FRIENDS NOR ITS NEW FRIENDS IN MIDDLE EAST COULD CONTINUE TO HAVE CONFIDENCE IN IT. HOW, HE ASKED, COULD A LEADERSHIP WHICH HAD OPENED DOORS OF ITS COUNTRY TO U.S. REPLY TO ITS PEOPLE WHEN U.S. SUPPORT ALONE MAINTAINED ISRAEL IN OCCUPATION OF ITS TERRITORY? IN EGYPT, FOR EXAMPLE, HOW WILL SADAT BE ABLE TO REPLY TO HIS PEOPLE IF THERE IS NO PROGRESS? HE HAS OPENED HIS COUNTRY TO U.S. AND ONLY RESULTS ARE GREATER INFLATION, GREATER HUNGER, AND CONTINUED ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF SINAI. AT LEAST WITH USSR SADAT HAD BEEN ABLE TO OBTAIN MILITARY SUPPORT AND EQUIPMENT AND A CHANCE EVENTUALLY TO CHALLENGE ISRAEL. SYRIA, KHADDAM HASTEN TO ADD, WAS NOT CRITICIZING SADAT BUT SUCH CRITICISM IS GROWING LOUDER FROM MANY QUARTERS.

7. FULBRIGHT'S REPLY FOCUSED ON KHADDAM'S TRIP TO WASHINGTON. HE SAID KHADDAM HAD A GOOD CASE AND HIS PRINCIPAL TASK WOULD BE TO CONVINCE PRESIDENT OF IT. PRESIDENT FORD,
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 DAMASC 02290 181127Z

FULBRIGHT SAID, WAS REASONABLE MAN WITH OPEN MIND AND NOT SUBSERVIENT TO SPECIAL INTERESTS. THERE WERE REASONABLE MEN IN CONGRESS TOO, MANY OF WHOSE MINDS COULD BE CHANGED IF KHADDAM AND OTHER ARAB LEADERS WILLING TO MAKE EFFORT. LETTER OF 76 SENATORS, HE SAID, SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN MUCH IMPORTANCE.

8. FULBRIGHT THEN EXPOUNDED THEORY THAT CURRENT U.S.

POLITICAL SITUATION MADE A CHANGE OF POLICY A POSSIBLE OPTION FOR ADMINISTRATION. SINCE LIKELY DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES WERE ALL RABIDLY PRO-ISRAEL, ADMINISTRATION COULD WELL DECIDE IT WOULD BE BETTER TO ENTER ELECTORAL RACE WITH PROGRESS TOWARD MIDDLE EAST PEACE SETTLEMENT TO ITS CREDIT, EVEN IF IT MEANT STANDING UP TO ISRAEL.

9. IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN KHADDAM'S CASE, FULBRIGHT ADVISED, WOULD BE TO CONVINCE PRESIDENT THAT ARABS ACCEPTED UN RESOLUTIONS AND ACCEPTED EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL WITHIN ITS 1967 BOUNDARIES. BELIEF THAT ARABS STILL WISHED TO PUSH ISRAEL INTO SEA OR WISHED TO "REPEAT THE HOLOCAUST" WAS STILL PREVALENT IN AMERICA. IF PRESIDENT COULD BE CONVINCED THIS NOT TRUE, THEN HE IN TURN COULD HELP PERSUADE AMERICAN PEOPLE. POSSIBILITY EXISTED THAT PRESIDENT WOULD BE ATTRACTED BY THIS LINE OF ARGUMENT, THOUGH FULBRIGHT ADMITTED IT WAS ONLY A POSSIBILITY.

10. KHADDAM REPLIED BRIEFLY THAT SYRIA'S POSITION RESTED ON OBSERVANCE OF UN RESOLUTIONS -- THAT IS, WITHDRAWAL FROM TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967 AND JUSTICE FOR PALESTINIANS.

11. CALL ON PRESIDENT ASAD. FULBRIGHT MET PRESIDENT ASAD PRIVATELY FOR ONE AND ONE-HALF HOURS EVENING JUNE 15. HE TOLD ME AFTERWARDS THAT HE HAD FOUND PRESIDENT IN RELAXED MOOD AND THEIR CONVERSATION HAD BEEN CORDIAL AND UNRESTRAINED. ASAD, HE SAID, HAD PRESENTED NO NEW VIEWS OF MIDDLE EAST SITUATION BUT HE HAD EMPHASIZED TO UNUSUAL DEGREE HIS DESIRE TO IMPROVE LOT OF SYRIAN PEOPLE THROUGH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. AFTER DISCUSSING RELATIVE MERITS AND POSSIBILITIES OF DAMS IN SYRIA AND ARKANSAS, ASAD SPECIFICALLY HAD REAFFIRMED SYRIA'S DESIRE FOR AMERICAN TECHNOLOGY AND FOR GREATER CONTACT AND COMMERCE WITH
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 DAMASC 02290 181127Z

AMERICAN BUSINESS.

12. FULBRIGHT COMPLIMENTED PRESIDENT ASAD, ALONG WITH SADAT AND KING KHALID, ON THEIR RECENT PUBLIC STATEMENTS WHICH, HE SAID, WERE HAVING GOOD EFFECT IN U.S. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT AMERICAN PEOPLE UNDERSTOOD SYRIA'S ACCEPTANCE OF UNSC RES 242 AND ACCEPTANCE OF ISRAEL WITHIN 1967 BOUNDARIES. ON THESE POINTS, FULBRIGHT SAID, ASAD HAD SMILED BUT HAD NOT REPLIED.

13. ASAD SAID HE UNABLE TO UNDERSTAND LETTER OF 76 SENATORS, AS IT SEEMED TO HIM SO CLEARLY CONTRARY TO U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS. FULBRIGHT REPLIED HE UNABLE TO UNDERSTAND IT EITHER.

14. ASAD OFFERED TO MAKE HIS PRIVATE PLANE AVAILABLE TO
FULBRIGHT TO ENABLE HIM TO VISIT PALMYRA ON JUNE 16. FULBRIGHT
ACCEPTED BUT ON SECOND THOUGHT DECLINED, AS IT WOULD MEAN
RESCHEDULING OF HIS VISIT TO EGYPT.
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